

Decline of Witches and Rise of Vampires in 18th Century Habsburg Monarchy

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Witch persecutions in Hungary had to be ended “from above” by the enlightened measures of queen Maria Theresa, in the second half of the 18th century. How did this important change in judicial procedures and in the wider mentality occur? My article tries to investigate this problem on different levels. First I trace the work of Maria Theresa’s court doctor, Gerard van Swieten, and the impact of North Italian enlightened thinkers and the Dutch sceptic tradition upon his campaign against superstitions, and upon a rationalistic worldview to be spread by absolutistic measures. Then, departing from the occurrence that the whole campaign, stopping witch-hunting in the Habsburg Monarchy, has started with some measures provoked by a new style magical being, the vampire, I try to raise the question whether the appearance and the apparent success of vampires in the early 18th century did not contribute to the decline of witch-belief in the same region. I examine how vampires at the same time made more sense to 18th century rationalist, medical and religious mentality *and* provoked a scandal, undermining the whole magical universe. I compare this change, occurring from the inner contradictions of the popular magical universe, to the similar effects of magical neoplatonism in 16th century England, and of possession scandals in 17th century France, both hastening the emergence of scepticism in the older style witch-beliefs. Finally, I try to point to two ways, in which the later 18th century transformed the vampire belief, once popular all over Europe: to transpose it to a social metaphor of bloodsuckers, or to sexualize this kind of magical aggression, paving the way for the 19th century invention of Dracula.

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The passing of witch-hunting is generally celebrated as the triumph of modern rational mind over what has been labelled by various ages as “superstition”, as “witch-craze”, as “credulousness” and “belief in magic”. How a society could pass through this watershed of traditional and modern mentality has always been a puzzling question, and the responses given to it depended on the evaluation of why witch-hunting had occurred at all, what “deeper causes” could have led to their intensification. The other side of the story is of course the analysis of the intensification of doubt, of the emergence of how “rational” arguments could grad-

ually dissect this system of explanation, and assert themselves in the legal and the religious sphere.

There is no reason to stress, of course, that it is hard to imagine a general explanation to account for all the different stories, about how this crucial change in mentality and in legal practice has occurred. Comparative generalizations should rather depart from a detailed examination of the concrete circumstances of each region’s or country’s evolution. My paper was born from an attempt to shed some light on Maria Theresa’s measures, forbidding witch-hunting in Hungary in the 18th century,

to examine the exact circumstances of her initiatives. I expected to relate them to their intellectual background, to some of the major issues of 18th century intellectual history. However, as it frequently happens, during the inquiry an unexpected problem arose: the curious fact, that the abolishment of Hungarian witchtrials was related to the scandals around vampires.

Once the exact circumstances of intellectual history had been cleared, I had to confront thus a larger problem of how two different magical accounts of evil were related to each other and how the emergence of one could effect the other. This paper documents how investigations of intellectual history bring about problems which could only be solved by a historical anthropology of the inner transformations of popular magic universe.

To appreciate the acts forbidding witch-persecutions in Hungary, it is necessary to look briefly at the history of witch-hunting in this region. Although there are only a few traces in the sources about medieval witch-hunting, and although the first large witch-trials appear at a relatively late date, in the 1550s, it would be a mistake to underestimate the seriousness and the destructive effect of witch-persecutions in Hungary. The belated emergence of mass trials should not obscure the fact, that we have to do here with the same phenomenon as in other European countries. The chronological distribution of the trials reveals the impact of greater European witch-hunting waves: of those in the 1550s, initiated mainly by German Protestants, those in the 1580s carried out by both opposing religious parties, and the greatest witch-hunt of European history, the mass burnings during the Thirty Year War.¹ However, the peak of witch-hunting came much later, at the beginning of the 18th century. Out of about 1700 witch trials known to us from the surviving documents more than two-thirds were held between 1690 and 1760. About half of these trials led to the execution of the accused or their death in prison. Hence the three centuries of witch-hunting in Hungary were far from mild.

Furthermore, witch-hunting in 18th century

Habsburg monarchy can by no means be treated as a declining superstition, in the course of dying out on its own. As we have already noted, it was only in the 18th century that the persecutions in Hungary began to amount to the kind of witch panic, that had raged in Germany, France, England, Spain and Italy a century before. The first wave of the Hungarian panic came in the 1720s and 1730s. In addition to the notorious Szeged trial of 1728, which resulted in the mass burning of 11 witches including a former judge of the city, outbreaks of the hysteria can be observed in the southern and the western regions of Transdanubia, in the environs of the northeastern city of Miskolc, and elsewhere. In the course of twenty years, more than 450 "witches" were tried throughout the country. After a brief decline around 1740, a second wave of witch-hunting began to take shape around 1755, with the mass trials of Arad, where confessions extorted by brutal torture and the series of death sentences by burning at the stake show the virulence of both witchcraft beliefs and the traditional legal machinery designed to persecute them.

It is worth noting that this belatedness of witchcraft persecutions is not only characteristic of Hungary, but in some ways of a whole range of countries on what could be called the "periphery" of Europe. While witch-hunting was already dying out and forbidden by royal authority in France and was also declining in Germany, in the 1660s it swelled into a general panic in Scandinavia, which lasted till the end of the century. In the 1690s New England had its most spectacular witch-trials. And in the 18th century the level of persecutions was not only high in Hungary, but in Poland as well, where the chronological distribution of the indictments show the same pattern as the Hungarian trials (cf. Baranowski 1952). The general pattern permits us to presume that without the recurring intervention of Maria Theresa witch-hunting would have gone on in Hungary for a few more decades, as it did in Poland, where it was only forbidden in 1775.

Let me briefly outline the royal decrees and laws, by which Maria Theresa followed the ex-

ample of Louis XIV (1682) and Frederick William I (1728) in bringing an end to widespread witch-hunting from above in their respective countries. The empress, it is worth noting, was aroused to action not by the persistence or by the reemergence of witch-hunting in Hungary but by the popular panic over a new kind of monstrous being, the vampire, the frequent occurrence of which in the neighbouring Moravia has aroused considerable interest in Vienna as well.

In 1755, in Hermersdorf, a village near the Silesian and Moravian border the corpse of Rosina Polakin, deceased a few month before, was dug out of the ground of the cemetery by municipal decision, because people were complaining about her being a vampire and attacking them at night. Her body was found to be in good condition (as befits vampires), without any signs of decomposition, with blood in the veins. According to local custom, the poor family of the deceased was forced to drag the corpse, by means of a hook attached to a rope, through an opening made in the wall of the graveyard, to be beheaded and burnt outside.

Having heard of the affair, Maria Theresa sent two of her court doctors, Johannes Gasser and Christian Vabst, to the village concerned. After receiving their report, she has asked her principal court doctor, Gerard van Swieten (to whom we shall return later) to advise her, what should be done about the matter (their reports are published by Linzbauer 1852–1856, I: 722–725). As the two doctors and van Swieten advised her to stamp out such repulsive “superstitions” by legal measures, she issued a rescript in March 1755 forbidding any traditional measures concerning the so-called “*magia postuma*” and a few months later, in a circular letter to the parishes and legal courts of the various counties and cities of Hungary she was already condemning other superstitions beside the vampire beliefs, indicating that soothsaying, treasure-digging, divination and witch-persecution were also to be prohibited (cf. Cauz 1767: 196, 367). In January 1756 she ordered all materials on current witchcraft trials to be submitted to her court of appeal for examination by her experts before the execution of the judgements of the local courts

(Komáromy 1910: 600). From this moment on, although witch-hunting could not be stopped immediately and although the county courts continued to hand down death sentences, the situation nonetheless became much more favourable for the accused. The experts of the court of appeal overturned nearly all of the sentences for witchcraft, condemning, by up-to-date scientific and legal arguments the unfounded accusations and the “ignorance of the brutish populace”. In vain did eleven counties protest against this interference into their legal rights, and in vain was the empress’ action opposed by palatine Lajos Batthyány, who, while condemning the excesses of witch-hunting, had argued for the existence of witches, referring to biblical injunctions for their punishment (Komáromy 1910: 639–641). A few years later a commission was set up in Vienna, that by 1766 had drawn up a new law in the matter, definitively forbidding any kind of witch-hunting.

The *Imperial and royal law for uprooting superstition and for the rational judgement of magical and sorcery crimes* (edited by Linzbauer 1852–1856, II, 776–785), which became part of the new *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* is an interesting early manifestation of so-called enlightened absolutism. Let me quote a few paragraphs from it which betray its intellectual foundations. “It is well known, what an unbearable extent has been lately reached by the craze concerning sorcery and witchcraft. Its foundations were laid by the inclination of the idiotic and vulgar crowd toward superstition (*Aberglaube*). Silliness and ignorance, which gave rise to simple-minded amazement and superstitious practices, has finally led to a situation in which credulity have gained ground everywhere among the people, who have become incapable of distinguishing reality from illusion. Any event which has seemed to them hard to explain (although merely caused by accident, science or speed), has been ascribed to the activity of sorcerers and witches. Even natural events like tempest, animal diseases, or human illness have been considered to be caused by them. And they have transmitted these fancies about the vicious herd of sorcerers and witches from age to age.

The children have been infected with them from the cradle by terrible fairytales. Thus this craze has spread more and more widely, deforming legal procedures as well in such matters."

The new law divides suits concerning magic to four categories. "1.) witchcraft accusations originating from fantasy, imagination or fraud; 2.) cases which derive from melancholy, madness or other kinds of mental illness; 3.) cases, when a person neglecting God and his own salvation has performed with serious intentions (although with no results) the rituals and devices needed for an alliance with the Devil; 4.) if there are infallible proofs of some mischief or crime performed by real sorcery or devilish assistance." According to the new law the judges should always inquire, whether the accidents mentioned in the accusation could have happened "as a consequence of natural events," "they should even consult experienced doctors and people acquainted with natural sciences". They should refrain from torturing the accused or search the so-called witch-mark, or apply the fallacious and archaic water-ordeal. As for the punishments according to the above mentioned four categories: fraud is of course condemned, but defamation as well; the mental illness is to be treated in hospital; blasphemy, even if harmless from the point of view of results is still a major crime to be punished by banishment, and as for the fourth kind, the "real" devilish sorcery, the queen declares, that "if such an extraordinary event would happen, We reserve the right to decide about its due punishment to Ourselves". Thus henceforth it became practically impossible to send anybody to the stake with witchcraft accusations in the Habsburg empire. In 1768 a series of royal rescripts ordered the counties to refrain from starting procedures in magical accusations "unless they have very clear proofs in the matter" (Komáromy 1910: 715–717).

It would be an interesting topic to discuss, how these "enlightening" measures were received by the wider circles of Hungarian population, how quickly their "mentality" has changed in this respect. Unfortunately we dispose of a more scarce documentation than Robert Man-

drou and Alfred Soman, who tried to reply to Lucien Febvre's analogous question concerning the end of persecutions in 17th century France (Mandrou 1968, Soman 1985, Febvre 1948). What we know about 18th century Hungary, gives the illusion that after the initial grudging of independentist and anticentralist Hungarian nobility, everybody received these measures with relief. Although before the royal forbidding of witch-hunting there has not been much polemical writing in Hungary to fight legal abuses or popular superstitions, in the last decades of the 18th century they start to multiply, and at the beginning of the following century people mention the whole affair with a total lack of identification with the "superstitions" of their forefathers (e.g. Sándor 1808: 103, Szirmay 1809: 77).

The fact, that the forbidding of the persecutions came not only from above, but also from the outside, and the absence of previous inner debate on the whole matter makes it interesting to inquire about the origins of the terminology we met in the new imperial law, expressing a modern rationalistic mentality and a conscious program to "reform popular culture".² According to the conviction of the contemporaries the whole campaign against magic was to be ascribed to Gerard van Swieten, the powerful court doctor of Maria Theresa. István Wesszprémi (1723–1799), one of the most outstanding doctors in 18th century Hungary writes the following in 1778, concerning the beliefs in vampires: "This imaginary illness, due to perverted phantasy was last analyzed marvellously by the immortal van Swieten in his treatise on Vampires, published in Vienna in 1755. With his wise advice he could convince the queen to chase this illness from the mind of the uneducated and superstitious people, so since that time such absurdities cannot be heard about within the territories of our country" (Wesszprémi 1962: 110–111).

It is worth to have a closer look at the activities and writings of this remarkable person, venerated by Hungarians still at the beginning of the 19th century. It would help to locate this 18th century campaign against magic within the broader currents of Enlightenment. Before examining his two treatises written in this

matter (one on vampires and another on witches), let me tell a few words about his life.

Gerard van Swieten (1700–1772) was born and studied medicine in Leyden, with one of the most outstanding professors of the time, Herman Boerhave (1668–1738). In 1743 he was invited to become “protomedicus” in the court of Maria Theresa, which he accepted with some reluctance and nonconformism (he refused for example to wear wigs). Within a few years he became one of the most powerful advisers of the empress, not only in medical but in much broader matters. He became the prefect of the Hofbibliothek, the organizer of the reform of the whole Vienna university, the organizer of hospitals, clinics, midwife education, the adviser for a series of measures that could be labelled as early examples of welfare social policy (asylums for the aged, for widows, foundlings, orphans). He became one of the leaders of the Censorship-commission, where he had the fame of exercising a kind of counter-censorship in the name of the new ideas of Enlightenment: it was not Voltaire and Rousseau, whom he put on index, but the esoteric, demonological and magical literature.³

So, we can see, he was really the kind of person, who could take in charge the campaign concerning the elimination of magic beliefs. It is no wonder, that (as I have already mentioned) it was to his advice that the whole campaign has started. This advice was phrased in detail in his *Remarques sur le Vampirisme de Sylésie de l'an 1755, faites à S. M. I. et R.*⁴ The treatise surprises at the first reading by its modest phrasing: van Swieten starts his work by acknowledging the real existence of miracles, of divine omnipotence and even of the reality of Satan's power. He adds, however, that “since the natural sciences have taken such a great upswing, many things formerly received with marvelling have turned out to have their natural causes... The eclipse for example, which has produced such a terror in the old times, does not frighten any more. We can calmly contemplate the omnipotence of the Creator, who can move these huge objects in such an infinitely vast space with such a precision, throughout so many centuries”. He refers furthermore to gunpowder, electricity, optical

reflection and other optical devices which would all seem to be miracles for the ignorant, and jestlers, charlatans have always been exploiting this ignorance.

His arguments against the above mentioned Moravian vampire beliefs follow the same track. After describing the whole story of Rosina Polakin, and some other 18th century vampire cases in detail, he starts to look for the natural causes of the extraordinary phenomena described in these stories. He gives medical arguments for the existence of blood-like bodily fluids in the corpse several weeks after the death. He advances scientific arguments about the chemical factors and the lack of air which could lead to the uncorrupted conservation of the corpses for several months, years and even decades after the death. He supports his argument by a series of famous cases, which however show for him no traces of vampirism. As for the nightmares, which in fact might have a very powerful effect, he considers them to be the natural consequence of ignorance and lack of education, combined with a kind of indoctrination coming from fairytales.

He also advances some legal arguments against the digging out of corpses with the charge of vampirism: sacrilegious prophana-tion of the holy ground of the graveyard, violation of the rights of the relatives. He urges the empress to take quick measures against all these beliefs both on the plane of law and on that of education.

Van Swieten's interest in magical matters did not stop at this point, but broadened to embrace the whole problem of popular magic. While the royal campaign, probably to his initiative, has moved on to forbid witch-hunting as well, he wrote a second *Mémoire* (edited by Komáromy 1910: 642–659), about witchcraft in 1758, which shows very similar traits to the vampire treatise. It is also related to a concrete case, to the trial of Magdalene Lodomer, surnamed Heruczina, a Croatian witch sentenced to death, but liberated to the order of Maria Theresa after her case was examined by van Swieten. Here we can also encounter the formal acknowledgement of the existence of magic and of the workings of Satan, coupled with scientific explanation of the concrete

cases. Electricity and gunpowder are mentioned here too, and he also relates some "scientific" experiments, where witches, who asserted to have attended the witches' sabbath, were observed meanwhile to be in the same room, merely dreaming about the whole thing.

The main attraction of the witch-treatise of van Swieten lies in his detailed inquiry into the making of the witchcraft accusation and the colourful sabbath confession. He not only describes the terrible pains the old woman had to suffer under torture, but also how the judges put the answers into her mouth, how the investigators took every hearsay for granted, etc. His actions in this case, where he personally took care of the medical treatment and the hospitalizing of the poor woman, show a nice example of the unity of theory and practice in the time of Enlightenment.

Van Swieten's ideas which had such a revolutionary effect upon the whole legislation concerning magic, were imported to Austria. It seems obvious that he must have brought his dubious rationalistic mentality first of all from his native culture. Indeed, if we examine the history of the doubt in witchcraft beliefs, and of their elaborate criticism, Holland is one of the leading cultures in this respect. It was in Holland, that witch-hunting demanded the least of victims (about thirty executions altogether!), and it was there too, that this blackout of early modern civilization was the most quickly corrected: the last known execution took place in 1603 (Faber 1984). It is probably this mentality, which is reflected by the surprisingly great number of witch-belief critics of Dutch origin.

After a few awkward sceptical treatises of the 15th century in the matter (cf. Ziegeler 1973), the first serious attack against witch-hunting and the belief in witches' sabbath is elaborated by Johan Wier (1515–1588), a disciple of Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, an Erasman doctor, who started his career in the court of Francis I, and later became the protégé of William V, duke of Cleves. In his treatise *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (published first in 1563 and condemned, burnt several times in the following decades), he recognizes the real existence of magical powers and also that of

witchcraft and sorcery (following thus the tradition of Renaissance Neoplatonism), but on the other hand he denies the reality of witches' capacity to fly to the sabbath, which he labels as a scientific nonsense. As for the great number of witchcraft confessions in the matter, he ascribes them partly to devilish illusion, cheating the accused themselves, partly to the effect of torture (cf. Baxter 1977a). Although it was no smaller authority than Jean Bodin, who undertook the task of refuting Wier's doubts in his *Démonomanie des sorciers* (cf. Baxter 1977b, Anglo 1976), a few decades later another Dutchman, Cornelis Loos repeats basically the same statements. In his treatise written in 1592 he asserts that descriptions of the witches' sabbath are just tales of imaginary flights, that the "incubi" and "succubi" have no real existence, and that the torture is not a way of getting to know the truth, but "a new kind of alchemy, by which one can transform human blood into gold and silver". As the printer denounces Loos, he is compelled to withdraw his statements, of which only their self-critical refutation appears in print in the edition of one of the major demonologists of the age, the Jesuit theologian Del Rio (Trevor-Roper 1969: 82).

Among the polemicists of the 17th century, it is once more a Dutch priest, fascinated by Cartesian ideas, Balthasar Bekker (1643–1698), who goes to the furthest extreme in criticizing witch-beliefs. His treatise, the *Enchanted world* (*De Betoverde Weereld*, 1690) is the first to take decided steps to its disenchantment: he negates the effect and the existence of any kind of supernatural magical power. He bases his arguments partly on rationality, partly on scientific reasoning. The "magic" according to him has only reality as fraud, and the "devilish" acquires existence only in human wickedness and malignity (Trevor-Roper 1969: 102–103).

Did van Swieten know these works? It is very probable. Although he does not refer to them in his treatises, they were there in the Viennese *Hofbibliothek*, directed by him for more than a decade. His commitment to this Dutchtype of rationalistic disbelief in magic could find support and example not only in the

works of these three outstanding critiques, but also in the teachings of his master, Herman Boerhave who often fulminated in his works against fraudulent charlatans presenting themselves as sorcerers and deceiving the ignorants.⁵

We have seen one of the intellectual sources of the whole Austro-Hungarian campaign against superstition. Let me present now briefly another one, geographically not so distant, but so far unmentioned in this respect. In the north of Italy the representants of Italian Enlightenment had their first important public debate just in the 1740s and 1750s, and exactly in this subject-matter: about the workings of magic and witchcraft. Using the historical, rationalistic, psychological and scientific arsenal of the new times, they tried to give a coup de grace to these "superstitions" scandalously surviving in the century of Reason (cf. Rapp 1874: 71–108; Venturi 1969: 355–389; Bonomo 1971: 417–446; Parinetto 1974). It was Lodovico Antonio Muratori who started the polemics, in an ingenious book about the *Forces of human phantasy*, which has stirred up public opinion around these questions. According to Muratori it is exactly the scandalous witch-hunting continuing in Hungary and in Germany, and the phantastic witchcraft confessions to be heard there even in his times, which impose a discussion of the question. As for himself, he calls these accounts "the most obscene dreams, the products of a dirty phantasy, and of the silly hearsays of people incapable to distinguish the false from the real" (Muratori 1760: 102–113). It is to Muratori's encouragements that the Roveretan scholar Girolamo Tartarotti starts to write his book entitled *Congresso notturno delle lammie*, which he finishes in 1749. The book is the most erudite inventory and history of witch-beliefs from the late Antiquity to his own age. Remaining within the hermetical-Neoplatonist tradition, still having some vigour in Italy, Tartarotti accepts the reality of the so-called natural magic, but he firmly denies the reality of witches' sabbath and refutes it with scientific arguments. He also gives an account of how this stereotype has emerged in the history of ideas, and how the different authors of treatises have borrowed the descriptions from

one another (Tartarotti 1749). Tartarotti's book has lead to passionate controversies, where some of his compatriots, like Scipione Maffei and Gian Rinaldo Carli attacked him even from a more radical point of view, denying the possibility of magic in general, in several pamphlets written between 1749 and 1754.⁶

Did van Swieten know these polemics among the enlightened scholars grouping around the *Accademia degli Agiati* of Rovereto? Here we have not only the conjectures, that, of course, these works too were there in the *Hofbibliothek*. We also know that the Italian thinkers knew and appreciated his works. A friend of Tartarotti, Giuseppe Valeriano Vannetti has edited an annotated translation in Rovereto, of his treatise about vampires, which thus became part of the Italian polemics concerning magic (Vannetti 1756, cf. Venturi 1969: 379–382). And the fact that these polemics were watched from Vienna with an attentive eye, is expressed by the fact, that in 1762 the empress Maria Theresa tries to use her personal influence (in vain), to have a grave memorial for the deceased Tartarotti in the San Marco church of Rovereto (Rapp 1874: 94–101).

In the same year, when witch-trials are definitively forbidden in the Habsburg monarchy, a vast synthesis is published in Vienna by Konstantin Franz von Cauz: *De cultibus magicis*. In the book of Cauz, a good friend of most of these Italian enlighteners, we can rediscover the whole intellectual background of the Habsburg campaign against superstitions: he praises the queen, who could "set an example to other sovereigns" in "chasing this barbarian superstitious ignorance from the brains of the people", he honours van Swieten for initiating the whole set of measures and contributing to it with his treatises, and he bases his arguments mostly on the previously mentioned Dutch and Italian polemicists (Cauz 1767: Prol. 3; 193–196).

The description of the intellectual background of Maria Theresa's enlightened legislation and that of van Swieten's treatises could end here. But there is a way to go further in the present inquiry, as I have already mentioned at the

beginning of my article: to make a problem out of the new evidence, that the sequence of the anti-magical legislation departed from the scandals caused by the emerging new belief in vampires, and moved on to forbid witch-hunting in consequence of this new-type scandal.

Before trying to solve this problem, let me sketch the historical background of European vampire beliefs. Leaving open the question, whether Montague Summers was right in developing a universal category of *The Vampire*, his *Kith and Kin*, including all different kinds of returning dead, bloodsucking witch or cannibalistic killer from Antiquity to the Indians (Summers 1928), I prefer to use a more concrete definition, which concentrates mainly to the historically unified concept of vampire emerging in early modern Central and Balcanic Europe. According to folklorists' account the vampire synthesizes various traits from five sets of magical beliefs: the returning ghosts, the Alp-like pressing spirits, the blood-sucking *stryx* of the Antiquity, those (Slavic and Balcanic) witches, which are said to keep on harming after their deaths and finally the *Werewolf*, attacking and devouring humans in wolf's shape.⁷

After a few obscure medieval references, it is in the 17th century that the accounts start to multiply about these monstrous undead beings. The first clear vampire cases are reported from Silesia in 1591,⁸ from Bohemia in 1618,⁹ and some *upierzycy* from Poland (near Cracovia) in 1624 (Rzaczynski 1721: 365). We can see here a remarkable geographical unity, which gets completed in the second half of the 17th century by the Balcanic (Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian and Serbian) stories of *moroi* and *broucholachi*.¹⁰ The usual stories relate in these cases that some deadmen (quite frequently deceased in irregular conditions like having committed suicide; having died unbaptized, excommunicated, or being deviant, irregular in some other way (cf. Lawson 1911: 375) return from the grave in human or in animal shape, and they are bothering, infesting, killing men and beasts till their uncorrupted and blood-filled bodies are dug out and pierced by a pole, or beheaded, or have the heart extracted and burnt. A more detailed analysis of these early

cases seems to be unfortunately impossible, since the stories themselves are handed down by chronicles and other reports based upon hearsay, unprecisely identifying the alleged vampire and speaking nothing about the "victims" or the accusers.

As we can see, vampire beliefs are of basically Slavic and Greek origin, still, 18th century European public opinion connects them mainly to Hungarians, for nearly all famous vampire cases of the 18th century occurred at the peripheral territories of the Hungarian kingdom. Let me give a brief review of these cases, not only because some of them are unknown in the vast vampire literature, but also, because it relates to the specific topic of this paper. It is in 1706, that the first widely read vampire book comes out, the one of Karl Ferdinand Scherz, entitled *De magia postuma* (popularized by Calmet 1751: 33–36), describing cases on the Moravian and Hungarian border. In 1707 the Lutheran synod of Rózsashegy (Ružomberok) devotes a separate discussion to the spreading custom of excavating, beheading and burning corpses (Magyari-Kossa 1930: IV. 88). In 1709 Samuel Köleséri, a Hungarian doctor, narrating the events of the plague in Transsylvania, gives a horrified account about the number of corpses dug out, pierced by a pole or beheaded, because they were blamed for spreading the plague (Magyari-Kossa 1930: IV. 29–30).

One of the strangest stories happens in 1718, in the town Lubló on the Hungarian-Polish border, where a certain marchant called Kaszparek, guilty of stealing his Polish customer's treasure, and dying soon after it, returns from the grave to be with his wife and to frighten others. The panic lead here to a series of municipal inquisitions and witnesses' hearings. Despite the resistance of the wife, there were several attempts to destroy the corpse, which were reported to have been unsuccessful until the whole body could be burnt. The case became so noteworthy, that not only chronicles (among them Mathias Bél, outstanding scientist of the age) have described it in a great detail, but it also became the topic of a novel of the famous 19th century Hungarian writer, Kálmán Mikszáth (who, unfortunately simpli-

fied Kaszparek's figure first to a ghost from a vampire, then to an impostor from a ghost).¹¹

The vampire epidemic is further amplified in the 1720s, when there are reports from North-Hungarian Késmárk and Transsylvanian Brassó and Déva.¹² However, the most famous stories happened in Serbia – for example the case of the *hajdú* (a kind of peasant soldier) Arnold Paul in 1730, which became the most well-known account on vampires, described in most European journals of the time and present in each vampire manual since. This soldier, who came from Medvegia, a village near Belgrad has always complained that he had been tormented by a Turkish vampire, and however much he has tried to cure himself (for example by eating earth taken from the graves of presumed vampires), he died very soon by an accident and became a vampire himself. According to the fabulous and very confused account, 40 days after his death he was excavated, found to have blood in his veins and was heard to give a frightening shriek when pierced by the pole. From this same region, which must really have witnessed an intense vampire panic, from the same years there are several other testimonies about similar cases: very unexact and stereotyped accounts about the persons involved, but authentic testimonies of the spread of the belief: there remained even several brief medical reports from doctors of the Austrian imperial army, present at excavations effectuated to the demand of local people.¹³

This series of cases start the great vampire polemics of the 1730s, with a whole long list of more or less scientific works to discuss these phenomena, which continue to draw upon more recent vampire cases from Transsylvania, Serbia, Moravia from the 1740s.¹⁴ It is no wonder, that the contemporary authority in the field, the Benedictine abbot Dom Augustin Calmet entitles his *Treatise on the Apparitions, Bad Spirits and Vampires of Hungary and Moravia* (Calmet 1751). The Hungarian word *vámpír* (deriving itself from the Polish *upyr*) became consequently the international designation for these monstrous beings.

However, it is not the folkloric or ethnic characterization of this belief which interests

me here, but the question, why this dozen of vampire stories could attract a considerably greater attention in contemporary Europe, than the several hundreds of witches who were burnt during this same period in Hungary, Poland, Austria and Germany. This shift of popular and intellectual interest to the vampires, this “vampire scandal” is worthy of attention, for it betrays some of the essential contemporary preoccupations concerning magic. Although the witchcraft debate and the witchcraft problem was far from being completely resolved, in Western Europe it started to become sort of boring, for witch persecution there has long declined. In such conditions the exotic East European bloodsuckers must have aroused a much greater interest.

Doctors were provided by these vampires with a new exciting riddle to be explained by their scientific reasonings. P. Gabriel Rzaczynski is already puzzled by this while describing the Polish vampire stories (Rzaczynski 1721: 364–368; *De cruentibus cadaverum*). In polemical writings concerning vampires one can meet similar kinds of historical examples and physicists' accounts on the incorruptibility of corpses, as the ones to be found in the treatise of van Swieten (see a list of these in Hock 1900: 51–52). The most detailed medical analysis on vampires is prepared by a Hungarian doctor called George Tallar, who studied these phenomena among the Serbians and the Romanians for several decades. He not only observed the corpses dug out with the accusation of being a vampire, but has also examined people who complained of a certain illness, going with fever, digestion problems, paleness, sickness – which they generally attributed to the biting or touching of the vampires. They tried to heal it by smearing themselves with the blood of the corpses they have dug out of the cemeteries, and by other magical devices. George Tallar had a different explanation of this illness: he attributed it to the excessive diets of the Orthodox Church, culminating in winter times, and causing digestion problems. He tried to heal these people accordingly, and if we can believe his account, with a considerable success (Tallar 1784).

As for the religious polemicists, vampire be-

liefs represent a serious challenge, for they cannot help recognizing in them the blasphemous reversal of some crucial Christian dogmas and cults. The vampire belief touches Christian ideas about resurrection. The vampire, like the Christian saint, is also a "very special dead" (a term borrowed from Peter Brown speaking of Christian saints, Brown 1984), whose corpse resists to corruption, whose grave radiates with a special light, whose fingernails and hair keep growing (like those of several medieval saints, e.g. Saint Oswald, Saint Edmund and Saint Olaf (cf. Hoffmann 1975: 80) thus showing the persistence of vital energy beyond the death. The miracles and the apparitions of the vampires are in a way the negative reflections of the attributes of the saints. And as for the vampire's most haunting capacity, the bloodsucking – one can account for it not only in terms of the history of sacrificial blood (cf. Agazzi 1977: 11–31) but one could think of a reversal of its christianized version, of the Holy Communion as well, which was figured by late medieval and early modern mystics as a very bodily and material absorption of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood (cf. Bynum 1982: 152).

So here we are with this wicked, blasphemous belief, which has to be refuted, criticized in order to protect its holy model. Calmet's chief effort in his book is to uphold the original Christian dogmas on resurrection, miracle and even on the reality of Satan, as special signs of divine omnipotence (it was probably from here, that analogous passages of van Swieten's treatises were deriving). At the same time all stories about vampires and witches' sabbath are described by him to be the consequences of "illusion, superstitions and prejudice", which have to be explained either by natural causes, or by the phantasies of the people concerned (Calmet 1751: I. 148; II. 219–222; cf. Goulemot 1980: 1232–1233). A similar view is expressed by Giuseppe Davanzati, bishop of the south Italian Trani, who wrote his *Dissertation about vampires* in 1739 on the basis of the first-hand information given to him by Schrattenbach, bishop of the Moravian town Olmütz (Davanzati 1774; Venturi 1969: 383–385). His explanation is partly geographical, partly social. Ac-

cording to him it is therefore that the belief is spreading rather in Moravia or Hungary and not, say, in Spain or France, and therefore among "the brutish, uneducated lower classes" and not among the cultivated noblemen and scientists, for the latter are more difficult to be cheated. This is why the latter should indeed consider it to be their duty to rid the ignorant people from their "superstitions".

To what extent this ecclesiastical fight against superstitions served the maintenance of some basic Christian beliefs in magic, is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that pope Benedict XIV felt it necessary to refer to the "vanity of the vampire beliefs" in his treatise on the saints' canonization, written in 1752 (Benedictus XIV 1752: III. Diss. 5 – "De vanitate vampyrorum", Diss. 14. "De incorruptibilitate cadaverorum"). On the other hand, it is exactly this awkward position of the Catholic polemicists, which gives Voltaire the opportunity, when writing about the absurdity of vampire-beliefs, to give the same sarcastic blow to Christian miracle beliefs and resurrection dogmas. Ironically presenting the vampire-stories in a kind of mock-heroic style, he continues in his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (1772): "hearing all this, how could we cast doubts any longer on the stories about resurrected dead, which filled all our legends, and on the miracles, described by Bollandus or the sincere and very respectable Dom Ruinald?" (Voltaire 1879: 547 ff).

Beside the medical view, or the attempts of the church to save basic dogmas by taking its distances from popular superstitions or the sarcastic and rationalistic critique of enlightenment thinkers we should be aware of a fourth current which participated actively in the debates around the vampires. It is tempting to call this tendency the occult revival of the 18th century, which developed as a kind of countercurrent to the rationalistic, Cartesian mainstream of the philosophical thought of the age. In the early 18th century a lot of literature was trying to explore the occult, mystical, spiritist and psychic explanations of the "forces of human phantasy". It was not by chance that Muratori has dedicated his first (already mentioned) philosophical enquiry to this subject, and with a much less dogmatic and dry ratio-

nalistic taint than Voltaire would have done it. We should also bear in mind, that the second half of the 18th century saw the emergence and the triumph of Mesmerism, the "magnetic", "hypnotising" way of healing (cf. Darn-ton 1968, Leventhal 1976; Goulemot 1980; Gallini 1983).

From this point of view it seems quite obvious that the real sensation of vampire stories was achieved by their respective occult interpretation in the 1730s. Michael Ranft in a series of learned treatises reasoned about the theory of "vis vegetans", that notion of bodily vital energy, still present in the corpses, the speculations about which could be lead back to Plato and Democritus. He also had some words to say about "sympathy and antipathy", by which the dead can influence the fate of their relatives (Ranft 1734; cf. Hock 1900: 45). Johann Christoph Harenberg tried to connect the vampire stories to certain visions that can be experienced while taking opium, datura, or other kind of hallucinogenic drugs (Harenberg 1733; cf. Hock 1900: 50). Other authors use the notions of Paracelsus, distinguishing "corpus, anima and spiritus", and explain the vampire apparitions by some "astral" influence on the "spiritus" (Hock 1900: 47). A more rational, but still psychological explanation is offered of vampires by the Marquis Boyer d'Argens in his *Lettres juives* in 1737, where he meditates about the capacity of phantoms, popping up in nightmares to scare the people to death (quoted by Calmet 1751: II. 47). We can remember, that similar arguments were present also in the treatises of van Swieten, who also admitted the destroying capacity of generalized fear of imaginary beings.

We can see: the vampire mythology fascinated the contemporaries in various ways, and gave them new possibilities to articulate some of their important problems, curiosities and phantasies. Once firmly established on the supernatural horizon of 18th century Europe, the vampire continued to serve for similar purposes, and made his appearance in the literature, where he (or she) acquired a new dimension: that of sexuality. The vampire's bite got gradually transformed into a deadly kiss, bloodsucking and the transformation of the

other person into vampire evoked age-old dilemmas and haunting mysteries connected to the history of sexuality. This reshaping of vampire mythology should not surprise psychologists and cultural historians who are familiar with the intense attraction between *Eros* and *Thanatos* in human cultures (cf. Eisler 1951; Bataille 1959: 103–119). Omitting remote examples, one could detect the prehistory of the sexual vampire in the previous centuries' erotic phantasies. The skeleton-like (but apparently male) symbolic figure of *Death* makes his appearance at the waning of the Middle Ages, and he is more and more frequently confronted with the upmost expression of secular beauty, that of the young woman. By the beginning of the 16th century this confrontation and contrast becomes a morbid sexual scene. On the paintings of Hans Baldung Grien *Death* embraces and seduces attractive naked ladies, biting into their neck very much like the future literary vampires (cf. Koerner 1985: 79 ff.). The detailed accounts of the witches' sabbath, and of the Devil's sexual union with the witches did not lack similar overtones in the 16–17th centuries. Finally: the sexualization of the new vampire mythology occurred precisely at the same historical moment, when another extreme phantasy of deadly sexuality, that of Marquis de Sade was elaborated.

The first associations towards sexuality have indeed popped up in one of the quoted vampire stories: Kaszparek, the vampire of the North-Hungarian town Lubló kept on returning from his grave to pay secret visits to his wife. The decisive step, however, was taken by an obscure German poet, Heinrich August Ossen-dorfer, who published in Leipzig, uarters of the vampire debates, in the review *Der Naturforscher* (no. 47–48 in the year 1748) a poem entitled *Der Vampir*. Here a young lover, deploring the situation that the beloved lady sticks too much to her mother's advises, just as people believe in gods or in "the deadly vampire", decides to take a revenge and have a "vampire drink" in Tokaj, when the lady is asleep, and to suck the blood of her beautiful cheeks. "Alsdann wirst du erschrecken, /wenn ich dich werde küssen/ und als ein Vampir küssen ..." – and when the frightened lady would

lie pale like dead in the lover's arms, he would ask her vengefully, whose precepts are better, his or those of her beloved mother... (cf. Rónay 1972: 38; Agazzi 1977: 152–153).

The turn of the 18–19th centuries has brought further elaborations to this aspect of vampire mythology. Kleist's *Penthesilea* (1808) and Goethe's *Die Braut von Corinth* (1797), just as Coleridge's *Christabel* (1800) associated the vampires with the cruel amazons or the haunting deceased young lovers returning from their graves, and created a feminine vampire figure. A close friend of Byron and Mary Shelley, equally fascinated with morbid phantasies, an Englishman of Italian origin, Polidori has opted, however, for a male vampire in his novel *The Vampire: a Tale by Lord Byron* (1816) (cf. Agazzi 1977: 158–165; Rónay 1972: 47–50). Although occasionally female vampires have made their appearance in 19th century literature, and, of course, the contagious character of vampirism has turned many woman vampires in these novels and short stories, the sex of the vampires remained essentially male. The biting, penetrating vampire sexuality had to be conceived as a male one, preserving its male aspect even if transmitted to females, as Christopher Craft demonstrated it concerning the “classic” of the genre: Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (Craft 1984).

I think we can see now pretty well the reasons of the popularity of vampires in the 18th century. But how did all this contribute to the end of witch-hunting beside obscuring the popularity of witches in public debates? In the first place, one could say, that vampire beliefs have provided another magical explanatory system for similar problems, so the contradictions of the previous one could be discussed more openly – this is the argument by which Keith Thomas explains the role of Renaissance Neoplatonism in the rise of doubt in witch-beliefs in 16th century England (Thomas 1971: 578–579). Unfortunately, this parallel is too remote to help us here, and the situation is dissimilar in too many ways: the efforts to stop persecution then were unsuccessful, and Renaissance

learned magic beliefs have caused no scandals at that time, neither could they obscure in any way traditional popular witch-beliefs. However, speaking of parallels, let me try to exploit another analogy here: let me compare my 18th century story to the end of the 17th century French witch-persecutions, which, according to Robert Mandrou, were partly due to public scandals aroused by famous possession cases. The new type magic affairs of the 17th century could be exemplified by the well-known spectacular cases of the Ursuline nuns of Loudun (1633) and Louviers (1643), who claimed to be possessed by the Devil, approaching them by their confessors (Mandrou 1968).

Of course I do not want to suggest any kind of closer resemblance between 17th century French cases of diabolical possession and 18th century Central European vampire scandals. I also see the clear difference between the two processes of “decriminalizing witchcraft”. As Alfred Soman has shown, the doubts in witchcraft accusations and their stricter jurisdictional scrutiny has started in France well before the aforementioned possession cases, which acted only as catalyzers of the existent public debate in the matter (Soman 1977 and 1985), whereas in 18th century Habsburg empire it was the vampire scandals which initiated the whole campaign for abolishing persecution. Still I think, that a meaningful analogy can be drawn in two respects: on the level of the inner logic of the historical evolution of popular magical universe, and on that of the effect of the emerging new beliefs upon the older ones. To put it in a generalized way first: in both cases these scandals have presented the workings of harmful magical power in new and exciting terms for the contemporaries. Thus they contributed to the restructuring of witchcraft beliefs and to the reform of the plurisecular judicial persecution in the matter. The nun's cloister diabolically possessed by a priest to the point of transforming it to the sinister scenery of perverted orgies on the one hand, and the monstrous bloodsuckers crawling out from their graves on the periphery of Europe on the other were two utmost extremes which have first stirred up all beliefs in supernatural evils and terrors and then, in a second phase

they have illuminated somehow the contemporaries digesting these scandals, how to step out of the magic circle of witch-hunting. Let us examine them one by one.

In 17th century France the theatrical taste of Jesuitic spirituality was obviously unsatisfied by the conception of evil, present in previous witchcraft accusations, which have involved a secret crime and an uncertain identification of the criminal with his or her Satanic affiliations. The obscene spasms of the possessed nuns and the terrifying cruel rituals of exorcism put on stage the presence of Satan in a much more efficient way for them. The traditional experts of sacred knowledge, the priests were also quite logically destined to be the principal objects of suspicion and accusation (could there be imagined a more teasing and shrewd idea for the Devil than to pervert a nun's cloister by means of their confessors?). However, this utmost actualization of magical beliefs has quickly led to a blackout. The accused, like Urbain Grandier of Loudun defended themselves by the logical argument that one should not trust the words of Satan speaking from the possessed nuns, for here again he is out to deceive and destroy the innocent (Mandrour 1968: 233).

This inner contradiction could not be resolved any longer within the paradigms of witchcraft beliefs, so very soon the decisive argument is given over to the medical experts disserting upon the psychic consequences of "melancholy" and the mental effects of body "humours". On the other hand, more and more people came to see the whole thing as pure deception and fraud, which view, although it was far from accounting for the complex psychological process of diabolical possession,¹⁵ had a beneficent effect upon stopping the witch-hunting quickly.

As for 18th century vampire beliefs, I have tried already to explore their interesting features for 18th century people. The comparison with witchcraft could add here also some useful suggestions. Vampire beliefs as well have involved much more spectacular phantasies than traditional witchcraft accusations, bringing the tangible proofs this time not by the means of the "theatre of the Devil" but by finding the

unusually vivid corpses. Bloodsucking was, at the same time a quasi-medical conception for magical aggression, more acceptable for 18th century mentality, than an invisible and unexplained way of casting the charm. Another parallel between possession and vampire cases could be, that both represented a more spiritualized conception of the workings of the evil magic. I am not only thinking of demons, spirits and ghosts here, but of the fact that while witchcraft accusations were trying to find living scapegoats within the respective communities (the witch is the "traitor within the gates" (Mayer 1970)), while they have tried to account for misfortune by relating it to past human conflicts and present evil behaviour, diabolical possession has shifted the attention to Satan and the Devils, who only used human beings as sort of media. Vampire beliefs, finally, have switched to the returning dead and explained the spreading of this evil more and more by pure contagion, which of course deculpabilized the living persons attacked, infested by or related to vampires.

The vampire scandals have also presented a more general paradigm to transcend the menaces of harmful magic. As we could already see from the quotations of contemporary opinions, this paradigm suggested to civilize the ignorant and superstitious East European Savage (who was far from being considered to be "noble"). This enlightening mission, this civilizing process, according to the contemporary intellectuals could only come from "above" in the social and from the "West" in the geographical sense. This consciousness is not only present in the royal decrees of Maria Theresa, but also in the descriptions of Hungarian doctors, who like George Tallar were pleased to lament on the ignorance of Serbian and Romanian peasants, and on the evil effects of the "superstitious" orthodox religion (Tallar 1784: 9-12; same argument in van Swieten: Linzbauer 1852-1856: I. 732). It was this ideology, which started the campaign against magical beliefs. And it was very soon generalized not only to abolish witch-hunting, but also to fight any beliefs, practices and representatives of traditional popular culture. In the 1780s a whole wave of pamphlets appeared in the Habsburg Monarchy fighting

and stigmatizing popular superstitions. By the beginning of the 19th century time was getting ready for Hungarian followers of Herder for rediscover the once existent but hitherto forgotten values of popular culture.

There is a final observation to be made upon the consequences of 18th century vampire scandals. The most radical counter-reaction, that of Voltaire and some other French thinkers had another solution for doing away with vampire beliefs. They have tried to shift the public attention from vampires to the "blood-suckers" in the social sense of the term (the metaphor was coined by Mirabeau in the 1770s). "One cannot hear about vampires in London nowadays – wrote Voltaire –, I could however see merchants, speculators, tax-collectors, who have sucked out the blood of the people by bright daylight, but these were absolutely not dead, although they have been corrupted quite enough. These real bloodsuckers do not live in cemeteries but in very pleasant palaces" (Voltaire 1779: XII. 550). This sociological redefinition of bloodsucking has quickly found adepts in Hungary as well, where Samuel Tessedik, an enlightened 18th century thinker has labelled the rich peasants and the tax-collectors to be the "vampires" of the poor ones (Tessedik 1799: 144). This new notion was to be recycled by 19th century writers like Bram Stoker to the vampire beliefs who selected the sinister historical figure of Vlad the Empaler to lend his name *Dracula* to our most familiar "celluloid" vampire (about this historical figure see McNally – Florescu 1972, Harmening 1983), and portrayed him a lord and a bloodsucker at the same time.

However, the immediate effect of Voltaire's idea was quite different. While in earlier centuries it were imaginary magical conflicts which have served to resolve or release real social and cultural tensions, now social and cultural conflicts started to assume a rather magical dimension. Voltaire has dissipated the magical mystery of vampirism by restoring the scapegoat mechanism of witch-persecutions. And in a few decades it was no more the blood of the excavated corpses, but that of the "social blood-suckers", which was going to flow.

To conclude, let me illustrate this new turn

of the 18th century obsession with blood and bloodsuckers by translating into English a few lines of the 1794 Hungarian translation of the *Marseillaise* (prepared by the Jacobine-minded poet Ferenc Verseghy): "The blood-sucking tyrant race/ Points his arms against your breast/ And dips his ugly hands into your blood/ If he cannot make you his serf/ Take up the arms, champions/ .../ Storm these blood-thirsty ones/ cut them into pieces!"

Notes

1. The following data and this short account is based on the detailed investigations described in my study: "Witchcraft in Hungary: Beliefs, Accusations and Persecutions (16–18th centuries)", to be published in: Bengt Ankarloo & Gustav Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*. (Oxford University Press), scheduled for 1988.
2. As to the general significance of this process in early modern culture, see Burke 1978.
3. About van Swieten, see Lesky-Wandruszka 1973 (especially the studies of Erna Lesky and Eva H. Balázs in it).
4. This treatise has received so far only brief mentions in the historiography (Venturi 1969: 380–381, Lesky 1979: 195). Its original French text, in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, is still unpublished, in 1756 it came out in German translation, reprinted by Mayer 1768, and Linzbauer 1852–1856 I: 725–737. This latter is the source of the above quotations.
5. Herman Boerhave wrote about these problems in his *Elementa chemiae* (Venetiis, 1737), t. I. thesis 2., cited by Linzbauer 1852–1856, I: 729.
6. Scipione Maffei wrote three excellent treatises in the matter: *L'arte magica distrutta...*, Verona, 1749 (edited in French in Calmet 1751: 383–469), *L'arte magica distrutta...*, Trento 1750; *L'arte magica annichilata...*, Verona, 1754. Carli's letters in the same debate and Maffei's treatises are analyzed by Parinetto 1974: 155–225.
7. Among the immense mass of publications on vampires, 1300 of which are well ordered in the bibliography of Martin V. Riccardo (1983), let me name a few which have been useful for a general orientation: Hock 1900, Summers 1929, Wolf 1972, Hurwood 1976, Agazzi 1977.
8. This story, described in Henry More: *An Antidote against Atheism, or an Appeal to the Natural Faculties of the Mind of Man whether there be not a God* (1653), (cit. in Summers 1929: 133)

- is about a shoemaker near Wrocław (Breslau), who was reported to have haunted and harmed people after having committed suicide, and was excavated and burnt by a municipal decision.
9. Described by Martin Zeiler in his *Trauergeschichten* (1625), reporting vampire cases from the locality Eywanschitz (cf. Hock 1900: 30–32).
 10. Cf. Agazzi 1977: 72–97, Lawson 1911: 373–387. The most detailed account of the Greek vampirism was given by the Marquis de Tournefort in his *Voyage au Levant* (La Haye 1705), cited among others by van Swieten in his treatise.
 11. The acts of the municipal investigation are unpublished, but are given a detailed review by Matirko 1890. The novel of Kálmán Mikszáth is entitled *The Ghost in Lubló*.
 12. The medical expertise of Georg Buchholz, given in the Késmárk case is cited by Weszprémi 1962 II: 108–110. The Transsylvanian cases are reported in *Quellen...* 1903 IV: 409 and Tallar 1784: 69.
 13. The different stories and some of the European reviews about them are reprinted by Calmet 1751 II: 37–46, 64–68, 216–219. Some of the expert-opinions are published by Thallóczy 1887 and Harmening 1983: 58–64. The other investigations are referred to by Hock 1900: 54. The cases are analyzed by Dömötör 1975 and Köpeczi 1981.
 14. This vampire polemics, which will be the basis of some of my further analyses is bestly described by Hock 1900. The more recent vampire cases (mostly very brief reports) are the following. Transsylvania: Ujpalánk, 1738 – Magyar-Kossa 1930 IV: 86; Brassó (Kronstadt) 1743 – *Quellen...* 1903 IV: 146; *ibid.* 1755 – Magyar-Kossa 1930 IV: 149–150. Serbia: 1756 – Tallar 1784.
 15. For a recent and complex analysis, see Walker 1981.

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